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CLASSICAL WEEKLY

VOL. 30, NO. 7

December 7, 1936

WHOLE NO. 804

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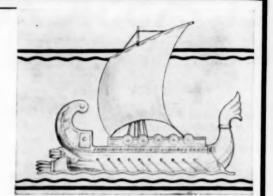
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DECEMBER 7, 1936

WHOLE No. 804

REVIEWS

A Third-Century Papyrus Codex of the Epistles of Paul. Edited by Henry A. Sanders; pp. xii, 127. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1935. (University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, vol. XXXVIII). \$3.00

The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri. Descriptions and Texts of Twelve Manuscripts on Papyrus of the Greek Bible. Fasc. III. Supplement. By Frederic G. Kenyon; pp. xxii, 156. London: Emery Walker, 1936.

A trifle more than six years ago it began to be rumored in Egypt that the investigation of another grave had brought forth treasure for students of the Old and of the New Testament. Civil authorities still are ignorant about the exact site of the discovery. But apparently the taphermaion was made in a Coptic graveyard and possibly it may represent a single burial taking place when the last member of the monastery concerned had ceased to employ Greek.

Much of this find was secured by Mr. A. Chester Beatty during 1930 and 1931. His acquisition included ten leaves from a codex of the Pauline epistles (P. Beatty 2), which in 1934 were published by Sir Frederic Kenyon as Fascicle III of the whole collection. Between 1930 and 1933 the University of Michigan acquired thirty additional leaves (inventory number 6238, P. Mich. 222) of P46, the official number assigned to the Ms by Professor von Dobschütz. These and a reprint of the Beatty leaves, along with a full discussion of paleographical and textual problems, then appeared under the editorship of Professor Sanders, who supplied smaller lacunae from either the Alexandrian or the Western text, as space appeared to demand, and also filled out longer lacunae, generally from the Textus Receptus.

In the leaves at that time missing between Galatians 6.8 and Philippians 4.14, Sanders (10)

held it 'very probable that the Epistle to Philemon was originally contained.' I and II Timothy and Titus were not included. Sanders seemed inclined to think that if I and II Timothy (not Titus) had ever been present in the missing leaves at the end of the MS, 'they were in an abbreviated form' (11). More of the Ms was even then evidently in the hands of some Egyptian dealer (1). And Sanders considered it 'a possibility that forty-three leaves' might 'yet be offered for sale, but not more. Some losses in this part may also be expected, so we should probably not hope for more than thirty-five to forty more leaves' (8).

Almost immediately after this publication Sanders' hope was more than fully realized. For it was announced that Mr. Beatty had acquired forty-six further leaves of the codex. These, supplemented by a reprint of the forty previous leaves of the Beatty-Michigan MS, have now been edited by Sir Frederic Kenyon as an addition to Fascicle III, and have been provided throughout with a good textual apparatus and with a sound introduction. The Pastorals are still missing. Philemon is seen not to have followed Galatians. And Sir Frederic's criginal statement that the whole codex consisted of 104 leaves is now sustained.

The list of contents is now as follows: Foll. 1-7, Rom. 1.1-5.17 (missing); 8, Rom. 5.17-6.14 (Beatty); 9-10, Rom. 6.14-8.15 (missing); 11-15, Rom. 8.15-11.35 (Beatty); 16-17, Rom. 11.35-14.8 (Michigan); 18 (fragment only), Rom. 14.9-15.11 (Beatty); 19-28, Rom. 15.11-Heb. 8.8 (Michigan); 29, Heb. 8.9-9.10 (Beatty); 30, Heb. 9.10-26 (Michigan); 31-39, Heb. 9.26-I Cor. 2.3 (Beatty); 40, I Cor. 2.3-3.5 (Michigan); 41-69, I Cor. 3.6-II Cor. 9.7 (Beatty); 70-85, II Cor. 9.7end, Eph., Gal. 1.1-6.10 (Michigan); 86-94, Gal. 6.10-end, Philippians, Col., I Thess. 1.1-2.3 (Beatty); 95-96, I Thess. 2.3-5.5 (missing); 97. I Thess. 5.5-28 (Beatty); 98-104, contents uncertain (missing).

Sufficient evidence is not yet at hand to determine the question of the final pages. Certainly there is no support for the hypothesis of a shorter form of I and II Timothy. The second place given to Hebrews (an unusual order confirmed by minuscule 1919 only) shows that this work was unquestioned and held authority next to Romans. Probably the Pastorals with Philemon, being personal epistles, had not won their way in the canon and hence were omitted. One detail of the text may be noted. In P46 the doxology does not stand at the end of Romans 14, as in the recension adopted by the Byzantine Church, nor at the close of 16, as commonly in our editions, but at the conclusion of 15. Kenyon (xviii) rejects the conjecture of Gregory that 16 was 'the covering letter introducing Phoebe to the Ephesians' (Sanders, 35), and accepts the view of Sanday and Headlam in their edition, that the salutations in 16, terminated originally by the doxology, were not considered appropriate for reading in church. But the doxology was too eloquent a set of verses to lose and hence went floating either to 14 or 15 (Kenyon, xviii).

Summing up, we have in P46 'a text of the Pauline Epistles that was extant in Egypt a hundred years or more before the date of the great uncials on which we have hitherto mainly depended' (Kenyon, xxii, xiv-xv, favoring with Wilcken a date about 200 A.D., opposed to Sanders' preference for the latter part of the third century). In general it 'confirms the integrity of the text that has come down to us, and offers no sensational variants'. Ranging itself definitely with the Alexandrian rather than with the Western group of MSS, though not lending exclusive support to any single text or group, P46 'definitely supports the modern critical texts, based upon the early uncials and versions, as against the Byzantine or "Received" Text from which the English Authorized Version was translated.' It therefore removes New Testament textual problems from any region of finality and throws open the field for further study. More, the friendly spirit shown by its editors from the first is one further proof that international cooperation in scholarship is not a theory, but a continuing fact.

F. A. SPENCER

New York University

Late Spring. A Translation of Theocritus. By Henry Harmon Chamberlin; pp. xvi, 237. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936.

This is an interesting and excellent new translation of Theocritus in heroic rhymed couplets, dedicated to a great Greek scholar, Professor Gulick of Harvard, and inspired by another great

classical scholar of Harvard, Professor Rand. There are some passages where the hexameters are grouped in a sort of stanza with the quatrain or the rhyme royal. Of course the song of the nightingale cannot be translated into the song of the skylark, and many will prefer the excellent prose version of Andrew Lang (1880). Edmonds' translation in the Loeb Classical Library (The Greek Bucolic Poets, 1916), which has been much used by Mr. Chamberlin, is in unusual and stilted archaic English which the layman has difficulty in understanding, a peculiar mixture of prose and rhymed poetry. Theocritus is very modern. His times were much like our own, torn by turmoil, worn by wars and rumors of war, and upset by unrest, with shifting of old ideals and marked by industrial and commercial expansion. In contrast to this was the countryside's quiet and the life of the shepherds and fishermen. This was the Hellenistic age of great cities and vast country estates, much like our own. Theocritus was its last great creative poet before poetry passed from Hellas to Hesperia. Ennius and Plautus were creating a new poetry at Rome. As Mackail says (Lectures on Greek Poetry, 237): 'The shepherds and ploughmen and fisherfolk of Theocritus were sinking into a wretched provincial proletariat, minutus populus, a people meted out and trodden down, the serf-population of the sovereign Republic.' But Theocritus started bucolic or pastoral poetry, in which he has never been surpassed-bees from all climes still fetch honey from the tiny garden-plot of Theocritus,' as Lowell said. I have tried to show his tremendous influence on later literature in my essay 'The Greek Bucolic Triad: Their Lives, Works, and Influence,' printed as an introduction to Marion Mills Miller's The Greek Idylls, translations in verse of Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus (The Maxwelton Co., Lexington, Kentucky, 1926). Dr. Miller has modernized Theocritus and published an excellent verse translation in this large volume, which is evidently unknown to Mr. Chamberlin as to many other students of Theocritus. Dr. Miller ten years before Mr. Chamberlin took Theocritus out of the shadow of academic tradition and placed him in the tingling sunlight of modern life. I like Dr. Miller's versions as well as Mr. Chamberlin's and I am fond of Way's verse translation (Cambridge, England, 1913), but Chamberlin's poetry is good and all lovers of poetry as well as of Theocritus should read it. It would have been more scholarly if use had been made of Fritzsche's Theocriti Idyllia (Leipzig, 1870), Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's Textgeschichte der griechischen Bukoliker (Berlin, 1906) and his critical text published at Oxford in 1906. But Chamberlin

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knows Cholmeley's Idylls of Theocritus (London, 1919) and writes short important introductions to the poems with analyses and notices of later influence and critical remarks that show poetical acumen: 'If they were not written by Theocritus, they were probably written by a man of the same name' (xi); 'The First Idyll has the movement of a great symphony' (3); 'Gay has burlesqued the second idyll in the Spell' (11).

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The famous gossiping fifteenth idyll about the Women at the Festival of Adonis was translated by Matthew Arnold in Celtic Literature into prose and by Leigh Hunt in A Jar of Honey into verse. It has even been acted at the Trocadero. Mrs. Browning in Sonnets from the Portuguese (not quoted by Chamberlin) takes from it her

I thought once how Theocritus had sung
Of the sweet years, the dear and wished for years,
Who each one in a gracious hand appears
To bear a gift for mortals, old or young.

Mr. Chamberlin's translations are not always accurate, based sometimes I fear on translations and not on the original Greek (as in the case of Goethe). They often dilate or dilute the Greek. So in the fifteenth idvll (100) ένδοι Πραξινόα is addressed to the maid and means, 'Is Praxinoa at home?' and not 'Praxinoa, are you in?' Θαῦμ' อีก หล่ งบัง กุ้งอิธุร literally means, 'It's a wonder that even now you have come,' not 'It's wonderful to see you, dear.' "Εχει κάλλιστα, 'That's very nice,' is here translated 'Your lovely chair will surely do Without the cushion.' Dion should be Dinon, Zophyrion (101) Zopyrion, and Persephona (106) Persephone. Θάρσει ('cheer up') is omitted before 'Zophyrion, my pretty love' (101). 'Madonna bless us all, both near and far, That baby follows everything we say introduces a later Christian idea in expanding into two lines the six Greek words, αίσθάνεται το βρέφος, ναὶ τάν ποτνίαν. 'Great thick-headed bore' hardly renders άνηρ τρισκαιδεκάπαχυς 'Women know everything of any use' (104) adds a note not in the Greek, πάντα γυναίκες ίσαντι, for women can also know things of no use. 'See them crash the gate' for περί τὰς θύρας ὅσσος ἔμιλος, if I understand American slang, gives the idea, not in Greek, that persons not invited were passing through the doors. Θεσπέσιος does not mean, 'It's awful' but 'It is marvellous.' Two Greek words, οὐκ ἀλέγω, are dilated into 'And please remember, I am Greek and free; I'll say just what I think, and say it where I like, and nobody shall stop me! There!' On p. 108, after Agamemnon 'far famed king of men' is added, and after Hector the words ο γεραίτατος είκατι παίδων, 'the eldest of twenty children,' are omitted. On p. 109, 'The spring of life restore to every heart; And grant

the foison of a newborn year' is not in the Greek. 'Vinegar would be sweet compared to him. Then home for me. Farewell, Adonis dear,' omits the idea of not coming near the man 'when he is hungry,' yet takes two lines to translate one, χώνηρ δξος ἄπαν, πεινᾶντι δὲ μηδὲ ποτένθης, 'the man is all vinegar, do not go near him when he is hungry.' I make these few quibbles about the fifteenth idyl as they are typical of the whole translation.

Many would not agree that the encomium for Ptolemy (XVII) is 'the only dull idyll.' I like Chamberlin's version of Idyll XXVII (Oaristys, not Oarvstis, bis) with the title 'Billing and Cooing,' but I am not sure that 'The Distaff' (XXVIII), pretty as it is, 'reveals more of the actual Theocritus than all his other poems put together' (199). Hipponax is not 'the inventor of parody,' (220), since Archilochus, the father of satire, lived at least a hundred and fifty years earlier.1 And why drag in a wrong translation of Hipponax's famous skazon couplet, now thanks to a Berlin papyrus (9773) rightly taken away from Hipponax (in Diehl's new edition of the Anthologia Lyrica [Leipzig, 1936] vol. 3, p. 118; the correct version parodied by Palladas in Anth. Pal., 11.381 was used in Bizet's Carmen and Merimée's Carmen), though I believe Mrs. Wright has the same mistake in A Short History of Greek Literature (90): 'There are two days in which woman gives a man most pleasure—the day he marries her and the day he buries her.' The lines, 'Two days a woman's loveliest in men's eyes, The day she marries and the day she dies.' mean, 'The woman has in life two days that are sweetest, that when she's mated and that when she's cremated,' as is shown by Anth. Pal. 11.381. There is nothing in the Greek about 'men's eyes.'

On the whole, however, Chamberlin's translation will take its place with other American poetical versions (unknown to Chamberlin) such as those of Miller, Sedgwick, Stedman, Egan, etc., the equal of such English verse renderings as those of Chapman, Calverley, and Way. Indeed Lang's prose translation was suggested from America. Taylor, Mitchell, Thompson, Burroughs, Sherman, Mrs. Field, Mabie, and many other recent Americans have known Theocritus well. I know of no Greek poet (except Sappho) whose influence is so frequent in magazines and in modern poets (compare Kerlin, Theocritus in English Literature, Lynchburg, Va., 1910, and Marion Mills Miller, The Greek

¹ Compare Greek Poetry and Life, Essays Presented to Gilbert Murray, 53-55, where Alan Blakeway would date Archilochus' birth 740-730 B.C. and his death before 670 B.C.

Idyls as cited above). Chamberlin's translation, therefore, is welcome, even if not as new an idea as is claimed by author and publisher. Clinton Scollard well speaks of the

Greek bard, whose liquid lines did first awaken Within my heart a deathless love of song.

DAVID M. ROBINSON

The Johns Hopkins University

Griechische Literaturgeschichte. Zweiter Band: Von Demokritos bis Aristoteles (Text und Anmerkungen). By Johannes Geffcken; pp. vii, 290, 246. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1934. 20M

As early as December 25, 1929, Professor Geffcken in acknowledging my criticisms of his first volume in CW 23 (1929) 68-70, spoke of the progress of his work: the Plato section was almost finished and Aristotle was in hand. He wrote, 'Im übrigen wird jener zweite Band noch lange nicht erscheinen; wie soll man Aristoteles wirklich ergründen?'

And, indeed, the eight years' delay in the publication is not due to dilatoriness but to long and devoted consideration of his subject. This volume, as Geffcken says in his Preface (v) was 'viel länger innerlich vorbereitet'. To fathom Aristotle is difficult enough. But how much more difficult is it to give a clear account of the contribution of the three greatest giants of human thought, Socrates, Plato and Aristotle? If delays caused by proper spiritual preparation result in contributions like the present one, no regret must be felt for having waited so long.

Both in scope of treatment and character this is an unusual volume. In the first place, one might wonder why a history of Greek literature should devote 290 pages of text and 246 pages of notes to Democritus (1-7), Socrates (7-26), the members of his circle (Euclides of Megara, Antisthenes, Diogenes of Sinope, Aristippus of Cyrene, 26-33), Plato (36-188) and Aristotle (188-290), the bulk of the volume falling to the lot of Plato and Aristotle. Such an exhaustive textbook of Greek literature as that of Schmid-Stählin, for example, covers the same period in a quarter of the above space. Second, has the sense of proportion been entirely lost or disregarded?

A partial answer must be sought in the preface to the first volume, where Geffcken outlines the aim of his work, and where he says, 'I have attempted . . . to put in relief the individual as well as to trace the literary movements and the history of ideas through the several periods, to characterize the value of a work for its time as well as for all ages, to analyze a literary production as an "entity," and thus to contribute to our knowledge of the Greek genius.'

The present volume, then becomes at the same time a history of Greek literature and of philosophy as well, with the balance between the two remarkably well observed. The author fully realizes (163) that a comprehensive estimate of Plato is a 'periculosae plenum opus aleae'. But since Plato has become his life companion, the author claims the right to bear witness to what Plato, the educator of Greece and of humanity at large, that 'ever young and ever inspiring poet-philosopher', meant to him. To give expression to this Geffcken the scholar and teacher is fully entitled. We find, then, in the present volume a wealth of information and suggestive ideas, which are the result of personal research which dates back for half a century.1 Even with all the space devoted to Plato and Aristotle, the author still considers (vi) his accomplishment as far from exhaustive.

The method of treatment is the same as in the first volume. The picture of Socrates is excellently grasped (26). The sources of Plato's life undergo a searching analysis. Geffcken rejects the current belief in Plato's tour du monde, especially his journeys to Egypt and Cyrene, and advances cogent evidence that Plato's knowledge of these countries is not based on autopsy (70-71 and note 223, pp. 55-56).

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In histories of Greek literature, the topic Plato the Poet has never, as far as I know, received that full treatment which it rightly merits. Here this problem is aptly and fully dealt with by one whose intimate knowledge of Greek poetry is a matter of record. With rare skill and finesse Geffcken traces the poetic development of Plato which reaches its highest perfection in the Symposium and Phaedo ('höchste Erhebung des poetisch-philosophischen Schaffens', 95-105). It is above all in the Phaedo that everything, Orphic and Pythagorean elements included, blends into what Geffcken calls 'urplatonische Poesie' (101). Even Plato's ideas are in the last analysis poetry and poetry they will remain (165). Throughout, however, Geffcken never loses sight of the fact that Plato's poetic achievement cannot be separated from his speculative thinking: together they form an entity. Nor is Plato the Dramatist forgotten. One is not surprised to hear that the controversial question of the authenticity of Plato's epigrams is decided in the affirmative. The author, however, does not fail to state that he is fully aware of the subjective character of his opinion (37 and note 19, pp. 31-32).

¹ In 1931, friends, colleagues and former students presented Professor Geffcken with a volume entitled Natalicium J. Geffcken zum 70 Geburtstag gewidmet (Carl Winter, Heidelberg, 1931). Geffcken is thus 75 years old.

From the analytical and structural point of view the evaluation of every dialogue is praiseworthy. For 'stylometric' evidence Geffcken has very little sympathy and does not use it to decide the chronological order of the dialogues. Since 'jede echte Dichtung ist Erlebnis' (167) one must not look upon the dialogues 'nur als Glieder einer Gedankenkette' (167). Nothing in Plato is without a set purpose and in the study of this poetthinker one must never lose sight of specific 'Stimmungsfarben', the peculiarly individual effects of light and shadow which are of the greatest importance. The order of the dialogues is, therefore, decided not according to the results obtained from tabulated linguistic logarithms. but according to their interrelation. The first book of the Republic was composed early. It was an old outline of a dialogue,2 which later on was incorporated, in its unfinished form, as an introduction into the main fabric of the Republic (67-68 and note 195, pp. 52-53). The Hippias II is also considered an early work (49-50 and note 118, pp. 41-42).

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The thorny question of the Platonic Epistles is, however, too briefly disposed of in the text (159-163). The history of the question is relegated to the notes (56-60, note 225). To the authentic letters 6, 7 and 8, Geffcken aptly applies the epithet 'the literary confessions of the philosopher'. We are recompensed, however, for this by a chapter (168-188) entitled 'Nachwirkungen' in which we find a brilliant exposition of the history of the Academy after Plato. Speusippus. Xenocrates, Philippus of Opus, Heraclides Ponticus and Eudoxus of Cnidus receive their due here. Here, too, the question of the spurious dialogues is taken up and a short sketch of Plato's influence upon later times closes the account of Plato.

We pass now to Aristotle. Geffcken's approach I have already mentioned. This, however, does not prevent him from making a serious attempt to do full justice to the great Stageirite. The approach is similar to that of Plato, except that he concentrates on Plato the Poet-philosopher and Statesman, and on Aristotle the Biologist. This does not mean that other accomplishments of Aristotle are neglected. On the contrary, in order to grasp the biologist Geffcken studies

among others Aristotle the metaphysicist, the dialectician, logician and naturalist in this entire, brilliantly written part. A fine evaluation of Aristotle's contribution, together with a comparison with Plato, as well as remarks on his 'Nachwirkungen' form a fitting epilogue to this meritorious book.

A few words must be said about the notes. The first volume consisted of two separate parts, text and notes, while in this, unfortunately, both are united. I believe that this volume, owing to the difficulty of the subject matter, ought to have taken the reader's comfort into consideration all the more. This could have been done by printing the volume in two parts to make the access to the notes easier. I must admit that I consider the present arrangement a nuisance. From the scholarly point of view, however, the notes are a mine of information.

Aside from documentation and controversial matter, one may find in them suggestions for textual emendations (note 118, p. 13) as well. The notes of the first volume contain a brilliant excursus on the Homeric question. The present volume is not without a counterpart. No Plato student can afford to miss the masterly excursus on Platonic studies (137-144). But from the biographical point of view the notes suffer from the same shortcomings as did the first volume. It is certainly of no great help to have the author refer us to bibliographies in other scholars' books. I observe that Geffcken still quotes the first edition of R. G. Bury's Symposium. The second appeared in 1932 (Heffer, Cambridge). Also Taylor's second edition (1927) is quoted, while the third has been in existence since 1929. Other details could be mentioned, but I do not intend, to use Horace's expression, to search for egregio inspersos . . . corpore naevos. Professor Geffcken's book is valuable for its solid contents and originality. Let us hope that we shall not wait too long for the third volume.

Hunter College

JACOB HAMMER

Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity.

(A Documentary History of Primitivism and Related Ideas, Vol. I.) By Arthur O. Lovejoy and George Boas; pp. xiii, 482. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1935. \$5.00

This extraordinary exposition and appraisal of the Greek and Roman¹ conceptions of the history of man's cultural development will, I pre-

² Compare the opinion of Professor A. E. Taylor (Plato the Man and His Work, New York, 1936, 264), for whom Geffcken seems to have great admiration: 'There is nothing in the dialogue to support any of the fanciful modern speculations about a possible "earlier edition" without the central books. . . . To me it is inconceivable that Republic I. should ever have been planned as the introduction to a work covering the ground of the Republic as we have it.'

¹ While the editors have concerned themselves with Greece and Rome, two Supplementary Essays on 'Primitivism in Ancient Western Asia' (by W. F. Albright) and on 'Primitivism in Indian Literature' (by P.-E. Dumont) are added and it is said that special study has not hitherto been given to these two regions.

dict, remain for a long time the great sourcebook on the subject. The editors generously assume that classical scholars are familiar with this material and they present the classical background chiefly for the benefit of students of later periods. But classical scholars will be grateful for the full presentation of this material. It is an impressive demonstration. The history of the progress of man's cultural development has received independent, scientific studies since the eighteenth century and these studies have traveled along independent lines and have progressed far beyond the conclusions of the ancients in detail. A knowledge of the ancient views, however, gives an invaluable perspective; and, incidentally, many of the ideas of later date are ancient in origin.

A corpus of Greek and Latin texts all the way from Homer to Isidore, accompanied by translations, bulks large. This vast amount of documentary material is arranged, in part, in chapters under such headings as Anti-Primitivism in Greek Literature and Anti-Primitivism and the Idea of Progress in Later Classical Literature, while such subjects as The Noble Savage in Antiquity, the Cynics, the Stoics, and authors as Plato, Aristotle, Lucretius, and Cicero receive separate chapters. Readers will, of course, have their various opinions about the best arrangement.

Chapter I, A Prolegomena to the History of Primitivism, presents a most elaborate study of concepts and theories associated with Primitivism and with 'Nature' (as a Norm). Not easy reading, this chapter remains an indispensable introduction for any discriminating reading of the texts that follow. The problems of 'chronological' primitivism, which seeks to know when the best state of the world has existed or will exist, appear and re-appear in classical literature under a variety of forms, thoroughly analyzed here, as, e.g., theories of Decline, Ascent, Continuous Progress, Progress and Decline, World Cycles, Endless Undulation. 'Cultural' Primitivism, or a discontent of the 'civilized' vith 'civilization', has its enduring roots in human nature from the beginning of the civilizing process. The concept of 'Nature' receives no less than sixty-six subtle, exact definitions.

No reader would necessarily subscribe to all of the applications of all of these distinctions to the classical texts that are submitted, but no reader can fail to admire the skill and the scholarship of the editors. Scholars will make their own marginalia of assent or of dissent. It would be manifestly unfair in a brief review to criticize translations, here and there, in view of the gen-

eral excellence of that part of the work. There are inaccuracies but there are, also, acute observations. It was not wise, perhaps, to rest so heavily on Jowett. The chapter on Lucretius is eminently fair and acknowledgment of Rousseau's debt is timely. The Index of Classical Texts (457-464) appears to me a marvel of correctness. The Index of Names and Subjects (465-482) omits some names of important modern scholars.

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Classical scholarship may well take the hint afforded by this performance and follow the example given here and, similarly, by Professor Frank's Economic Survey of Ancient Rome to assemble and publish the source material for other aspects of Greek and Roman life. This type of work represents a definite step in the history of classical scholarship and the present may be the propitious moment for undertaking the prodigious task. As it is, every scholar gathers his own documentary material for his own needs and death annihilates his individual work. A number of such accumulations of the pertinent material-assembled and arranged by competent groups of scholars-will become veritable storehouses of information, invaluable for all subsequent research. Have we the courage for the task in America?

GEORGE DEPUE HADZSITS
University of Pennsylvania

Proclus, the Elements of Theology, a Revised Text with Translation, Introduction and Commentary. By E. R. Dodds; pp. xlvi, 340. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933. \$10.00

In a delectable sentence which opens his introduction (one does not look for ingratiating style in such a medium, but finds it here), Prof. Dodds expresses the fear that he may be suspected of 'contributing to that most extensive of all sciences, the Wissenschaft des Nichtwissenswerthen'. Both author and editor come free of any such suspicion. The Enneads of Plotinus, the last philosopher of Neoplatonism with whom the average student is likely to be acquainted, offer little more than fitful illuminations of formal doctrine, previous introduction to which is taken for granted. But the Elements of Theology builds up a coherent system, whose appeal, unlike that of Sallustius' manual on the gods, is to the student rather than to the layman.

This elaborate exposition is mainly derivative (Prof. Dodds offers full proof for the first time) from Plotinus and Iamblichus. For that very reason, however, it is valuable as a guide in the early fifth century A.D. to a movement extending back over about five hundred years. The propositions of the Elements are transparency itself compared with the serpentine sentences of Pro-

clus' commentaries on Plato and on 'Platonic' theology. Here for the moment Proclus parts company with the allegorizing, spook-chasing, and table-tapping theurgists, of whose party in Neoplatonism he made otherwise an important member, and whom elsewhere he joined fervently in their popular battle against Christianity, which brought into militant action their more abstract essays to produce a uniform Hellenic philosophy and religion, to escort man's soul smoothly to God over a path swept clean of clashing sects and religious cults.

Important, then, as a synthesizer in his own right, Proclus has also exercised, next to Augustine perhaps, a dominating influence upon Christian theology through one of the most audacious literary hoaxes ever perpetrated. Not long after Proclus' death, perhaps about 500 A.D., some 'unknown eccentric' (xxvi) decked out the Neoplatonist's philosophy in a Christian tunic and solemnly attributed it to that Dionysius the Areopagite whom Acts mentions as one of Paul's converts at Athens. Whether this gentleman was a Christian who dabbled in Neoplatonism, or a pagan with a deathless sense of humor cannot now be ascertained. But his forgery imposed on a long line of church dignitaries-fathers, popes, and philosophers (including Thomas Aquinas). And, although exposed in the nineteenth century, it still passes muster with some Catholic theologians. When, in the eleventh century, the Byzantine Neoplatonist Michael Psellus was reintroducing Proclus to eastern Europe, highly orthodox persons looked upon the original as a pagan imitator of Dionysius!

While the Alexandrian school of Neoplatonism, more compromising, passed imperceptibly into the hands of Christians during the sixth century, the resolute hostility of Proclus and other Athenian Neoplatonists prevented any such continuity there. Aristotle from that time forward rises and the star of Plato and of Proclus sinks in the Byzantine world. But the chain runs and the knowledge of Proclus is continued in the Near East down to the eighteenth century by means of Syriac, Arabic, Armenian, and Georgian versions, to which Prof. Dodds gives full weight and which he discusses fully. These versions were freely utilized by Latin translations having currency in western Europe and used, among other authors, by Dante. Along with later, direct Latin renderings they gave the western world a taste of Platonism at a time when Plotinus and Plato were largely unknown. In the long line which fell under this sway might be mentioned Leibniz, Eckhart, and Edmund Spenser.

Students of the New Testament will be specially interested in two appendices—on the unknown god and on the astral body in Neoplatonism. Others will find many other points of contact. But to all may be commended this masterly and important work, which not only lights up the purely religious field, but also clarifies other motivations of popular hostility to the Christian cult during the fourth and fifth centuries of our era.

F. A. SPENCER

New York University

An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome, Volume II: Roman Egypt to the Reign of Diocletian. By Allan Chester Johnson; pp. x, 732. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1936. \$4.00

Professor Johnson divides his survey into five chapters: The Land (1-244), The People (245-324), Industry and Commerce (325-480), Taxation (481-634), Miscellaneous (Public Works, Accounts, Edicts, Laws: 635-717). Each chapter consists of several sections, in most of which the discussion is followed by a selection, in translation, of illustrative material chosen from the papyri, inscriptions, ostraca and literary sources. We are told (vii) that the original Greek and Latin texts had to be omitted because of lack of space. But in that case, the inclusion of the translations becomes in most cases pointless, since they do not reveal the technicalities about which the discussion centers. Omission of the translations-the reprinted translations, in any case-would have permitted the inclusion of other material to enhance the value of the volume as a self-sufficient work of reference. For example, since the book is clearly intended for a much wider audience than just papyrological specialists, a brief general introduction explaining details of geography, calendar, etc., which are not common knowledge, and which Professor Johnson is obliged to use continually, would have been eminently in place.

The reader will find Professor Johnson's volume useful for orientation on the divers questions presented, but the author's conclusions on disputable points can often find only a qualified acceptance. The discussions of the individual topics are, in general, good expositions of the 'état des questions' after half a century of papyrological research, though the documentation is in a number of places incomplete. Particularly good are the description of the irrigation systems of the Nile valley and of the Fayum (Ch. I. ii), and the discussion of the Egyptian currency (Ch. III. vi), the field of Professor Johnson's special competence. Some of the points, however, on which Professor Johnson's interpretation is open to question or on which he is demonstrably wrong, may be noticed here briefly.

'Αναχώρησις, the flight of people from their homes, is not a phenomenon peculiar to the second and subsequent centuries (vi. 246, 354, 482, compare 545-6), but is symptomatic of the entire period of Roman domination in Egypt (compare No. 326). Professor Johnson, following Bickermann, attributes these flights to 'der Zug nach der Stadt' (vi. 246, 250), and gives but a partial insight (vii, 482-3) into the economic motivethe inability of the peasants and the liturgic officials to meet their crushing fiscal obligations -which, it seems to me, the evidence clearly indicates as the prime cause of the flights. The equation of the μερισμός ἀπόρων with the μερισμός άνακεχωρηκότων (546, 547) is entirely unjustified. The first was an assessment 'to make up deficiencies caused by the inability of ἄποροι <paupers> to pay taxes' (Archiv für Papyrusforschung 4 [1908] 545) the second, to make up the deficits caused by the tax default of runaways. Not all aporoi took to flight: compare P. Corn. 24, ἀπόρων άνευρέτων, and P. Lond. 911. Apropos of the introduction to No. 148 it should be noted that the population of the villages cited dropped from 54 to 4, from 27 to 3—and then to zero! To the documents cited as belonging to this group add BGU III 902 and PSI I 105. Wilcken's ascription (in Festschrift Hirschfeld. 1903) of this decline in population to the ravages of plague, can no longer be cited in view of his retraction in Archiv für Papyrusforschung 8 (1927) 311. On page 253, line 1, read 'because of the poverty of the people about them < from whom they had to collect taxes > at the time' (812 την [τ]ότε περί αὐτοὺς ἀσθένειαν). For a detailed discussion of the problem of άναχώρησις see my forthcoming article in the Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.

The interpretation of enoikion (257, 561) as rent collected by the government, especially from confiscated property, is untenable. Wilcken's original interpretation (Griech. Ostraka I 192) of enoikion as the tax imposed by the State on private income from rentals, still remains the most plausible in the light of the available evidence.

It is surprising to see ἄγραφος γάμος mentioned (293) in connection with συγγραφή τροφίτις, especially since Professor Johnson refers (292) to some of the recent literature which served to lay this ancient ghost. To the literature cited should be added H. Junker (to whom the credit goes for first putting us on the right track), Papyrus Lonsdorfer I (Sitzb. Wien. Akad. Wiss., 197, No. 2); A. E. R. Boak, Journal of Egyptian Archaeology 12 (1926) 100-109.

Professor Johnson presents in some detail the meagre evidence on the papyrus industry, but his conclusions go far beyond what the evidence warrants. It cannot be said, for example, on the basis of No. 198 that 'in the Fayum the Empress Julia Augusta <Livia> may have had some monopoly of manufacture, since the marshes were under her control', nor that 'at least, she had a monopoly of sale of certain products' (329). Practically every village in the Fayum had its marsh, and all that the document in question tells us is, first, that the extensive marsh in the vicinity of Theadelphia—or the revenue therefrom—formed part of an estate of Livia and the children of Germanicus; and, second, that some sort of government supervision was, as we should expect, exercised over the manufacture and sale of rush products (cf. Wilcken, Archiv für Papyrusforschung 9 [1930] 240). But this need mean no more than that, as seems to have been the arrangement in most other industries, the State granted 'the right to individuals to operate in certain districts after payment of a fee for the privilege' (331). (Note that Nos. 199 and 200 do not concern papyrus, but άνθήλη and φλούς, two quite distinct rushes.) On the regulations concerning the manufacture and sale of paper. we are entirely without information for the Roman period. The conclusion (329, 337; fol-Gummerus, Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll IX. 1463) that the assignment of a soldier ad chartam conficiendam (No. 407) proves the existence of government paper factories, is in itself very much open to question and in direct conflict with the general industrial policy of the administration during the first two centuries.

A sort of garment (339) was indeed made of papyrus by the Egyptians (Theophrastus, Hist. Plant. 4.8.4), but whether Juvenal 4.23-24 (Hoc tu succinctus patria quondam, Crispine, papyro) is to be interpreted in this light is a moot point: if we are to believe the scholiast, succinctus . . . papyro is derisive for chartapola, a paper vendor. In any case, since Crispinus was a native of Egypt (Juvenal 1.26-27; Martial 7.99), the conclusion that papyrus garments were exported to Rome is clearly precluded by the words patria quondam. On page 330, line 12 read 'irregular'. The list of prices of paper (469, 470) is far from complete (compare my L'industrie du papyrus dans l'Egypte gréco-romaine, 154-5).

Finally, even a Selected Bibliography should include Heichelheim's article Monopole, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll XVI.147-199 (193-197 for Roman Egypt). An index of documents cited and translated would have been useful.

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Hunter College

Corinth, Volume III, Part II: The Defenses of Acrocorinth and the Lower Town. By Rhys Carpenter and Antoine Bon, with contributions by A. W. Parsons; pp. xvi, 315, 242 figures, 10 plates and a survey map. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936. \$5.00

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an 18This account of the fortifications of Corinth, long desiderated by scholars, appears in such a form that all regrets for the delay of its publication are quickly assuaged. Had the task been executed no more remotely than the beginning of the present decade, the authors would inevitably have applied to that most important feature, the chronology of the walls, the rules of thumb then in vogue. Fortunately, they have been able to profit by the fruits of recent researches in toichology and particularly by the small but none the less epoch-making work of Walther Wrede (Attische Mauern, Athens, 1933) which has served to set in quite a new light the questions of ancient wall construction and chronology.

In the first and second chapters (1-43, 44-83). Carpenter examines and describes the fortification systems of Acrocorinth and the lower town respectively. He finds no certain trace of prehistoric work in the walls of the citadel. Apparently in pre-Classical times Corinth itself was of inconsiderable importance. Despite the fact that the city site has served for forty years as something of the nature of a corpus vile for the dissecting activities of the youthful American archaeologist, it was not until 1932 that the Long Walls were actually discovered and traced to the shore. This is surprising, but long-walls have a penchant for disappearing: witness those of Megara and Athens. In the third chapter Parsons (84-127) provides a lucid description of the scanty remains. Most of the evidence which is derived from their archaeological context would support a date of about 475 B.C. for the construction of these walls. On the other hand, a single small fragment of an Attic redfigure vase (Fig. 88), which shows merely a human foot in full face placed above a conventional design, is thought by Parsons to belong to a period twenty years or so later. Hence he concludes that the construction of the fortifications 'cannot safely be put much before 450' (120).

It is a big, clumsy foot that is shown on the sherd, very unlike the neat and trim feet that we associate with the art of the vase-painters of the 'seventies' of the fifth century. But we have some curious lapses to point to on the part of even the best of these artists. Hence it might be safer to withhold judgment on the question of the date till further investigation of the wall-

foundations has yielded a greater abundance of datable material.

Fully half of the book is taken up with a detailed account by Antoine Bon, of the French School at Athens, of the medieval fortifications of Acrocorinth. It is translated by Carpenter. These magnificent works, built in large part on foundations of the Classical period, were begun in the sixth century A.D. and were added to and utilized down to the nineteenth. Bon distinguishes three periods, a Byzantine, a Frankish and a Turkish and Venetian. His account of these fortifications is adequate in all respects without being over-elaborate. Every visitor to Corinth, be he archaeologist, classical scholar, medievalist, or even tourist, will be grateful for this elucidation of that imposing, far-flung, and altogether confusing complex of masonry that crowns the hill. Bon's account makes it all absurdly simple. We shall be able to transfer much of what he says to the other medieval fortresses so often encountered in Greece.

In summary—the volume is a thoroughly satisfying one. For in addition to its excellent text it has a sumptuous array of illustrative material—photographs and plans. The Analytic Index (303-315) enables one to consult the book with a minimum of effort. Errors seem few and unimportant. The obsolete spelling 'redout', for 'redoubt', appears consistently in the translated part. It was superinduced, perhaps, by the 'redoute' of the French original.

A. D. FRASER

University of Virginia

A History of Classical Greek Literature from Homer to Aristotle. By T. A. Sinclair; pp. viii, 421. New York, Macmillan, 1935. \$3.50

The title of this work sufficiently defines its scope, though hardly its method of presentation. Prof. Sinclair has not written a severe manual in the manner of Schmid-Stählin, nor indeed a sympathetic treatment after the style of Rose or Wright. His book stands between anthologies like those of Howe and Harrer, or of Livingstone, and histories of the type just mentioned. Its very full outlines of literary content, fortified by judicious selections in Greek and in good translations, will prove uniquely useful to undergraduate or teacher who does not wish to use a more thoroughgoing exposition, while occasional glances at modern research in the notes, a short bibliography, and the account taken of recent literary papyri will commend it for diversion to the scholar.

The style is bright, if not brilliant. It pleasantly reflects an agreeable personality and mirrors an admirable combination of teacher and scholar. Occasionally, however, a passing effect of bathos is achieved by the intrusion of elements evidently taken from classroom lectures and more proper to them than to a book. Prof. Sinclair's judgments, when he is dealing with purely literary matters, are discerning, frequently independent, and ordinarily free from affectation or prudery. He is much less successful in setting forth the necessary political, economic, and social backgrounds of Greek literature. This lack of understanding, or at any rate of emphasis, particularly vitiates his treatment of Aristophanes. I find no really sufficient discussion of nationalism or of Panhellenism in the book, and no mention of these titles in the excellent index.

F. A. SPENCER

New York University

Pindar, a Poet of Eternal Ideas. By David M. Robinson; pp. viii, 108. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1936. (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology, No. 21) \$3.00

This miscellany of observations upon Pindar's value and influence aims to show that Pindar is, despite Wilamowitz and Murray, good food for modern democracy. The preface gives a useful list of recent books; like any miscellany the book contains something to interest every student; and a usable index makes much reading unnecessary. After the preface comes a general sketch (1-21) of Pindar and his influence, with refreshing quotation from Jebb; a statement (22-38) of Pindar's 'eternal' quality (meaning richness in maxims and bright patches), with a sketch of modern studies and remarks on the use of Pindar by Milton, Boileau, etc.; a procession (39-108) of quotations from the poems and fragments (in English, or Greek and English; largely Sandys' dull English), with a host of quotations and citations, from all ages, of echoes or mere parallels; then the conclusions and index. Despite pointless digressions and parallels, many pages are pleasant reading.

The defects are great and deep-seated. First, bad method: echo is not distinguished from non-echo; the influence in ancient drama, Plato, and Horace, by which Pindar penetrates our world, is mostly ignored, Bacchylides hardly mentioned; the 'Pindaric' ode is not properly oriented. Yet these are what prove Pindar's eternal value. Second, insufficient grasp of subject: Böckh,¹ not Dissen, is the brain and chief writer of the

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SHORTER NOTICES

The Capitals from the Trajan Column at Rome, with XXV Plates Drawn and Engraved by the Author. By Frederic W. Goudy; pp. 21, xxv annotated plates. New York: Oxford University Press, 1936. \$3.00

This close study of the lettering of one of our finest Latin inscriptions is the work of a master of type design. Mr. Goudy approaches his subject not as an epigraphist, indeed he disclaims any knowledge of this subject, but as a modern artist interested in the aesthetic quality of letter forms. The introductory text describes pleasantly the Trajan Column and the character of its lettering, then offers some sage remarks on the relationship of mathematical accuracy to genuine elegance of design: 'Beauty is too elusive to be snared by geometry' (13).

The chief portion of the book is a set of twentyfive plates in which each letter of the alphabet is reconstructed from the three-dimensional stone carving to the less satisfactory two-dimensional print. Each letter is drawn almost actual size and its characteristic qualities pointed out in brief comments. Letters which do not occur on the inscriptions are designed in the spirit of the original.

The epigraphist may perhaps find the book suggestive for its treatment of the details of letter design. Mr. Goudy allows himself, however, certain liberties which may be permitted to the artist rather than to the scholar and his book will be useful chiefly to those who love fine printing. To those it will be a real joy and for those, of course, it was written.

A New Latin Reader. By E. C. Marchant; pp. xi, 130. London: Bell, 1936. 2s.

As the author states in his preface, the purpose of this little reader is to introduce the learner to Latin verse. The method employed is novel. Fourteen simple prose pieces are followed by twenty-eight 'couples', alternate passages of prose and verse, each 'couple' telling approximately the same story. The balance of the book consists of thirty more difficult pieces of prose and verse. The pas-

Böckh-Dissen commentary (22); Drachmann's Scholia surely should have been mentioned among Pindaric studies (22); Pindar is not one of a few non-Athenian Greek poets (2)—none of the lyric nine is Athenian. But worst is the attempt to 'popularize' Pindar. Pindar is glorious food for eager students, but because of his swift and grand imagination, not his bright patches. Whoever expects a daw or swan will be disappointed. Pindar is an eagle, fierce and strong; those who would know him should read Jebb, Croiset, Gildersleeve, above all Wilamowitz.

¹ Though the name is often spelled 'Boeckh', Böckh himself always used the umlaut sign.

sages themselves, taken chiefly from Roman history and mythology, have been carefully picked from the point of view of interest. The early pieces are adapted, the last thirty intact save for the occasional omission of lines. The basic principle of this little book is sound and has been carried out intelligently.

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The Spirit of Mediaeval Philosophy. By Étienne Gilson; pp. ix, 490. New York: Scribner, 1936 (Gifford Lectures 1931-1932). \$3.50

M. Gilson, professor of Mediaeval Philosophy at the Sorbonne, has given us an authoritative, interesting, sympathetic, but not penetratingly critical, survey of mediaeval metaphysics. His central thesis is that the Middle Ages did produce a distinctive philosophy, as well as literature and art. This philosophy Gilson considers the Christian philosophy par excellence. Whether readers will agree with him in this characterization will depend on their conception of Christianity. The chief interest of the book for classicists consists in its presentation of mediaeval philosophy as arising from the confluence of the stream of Judeo-Christian thought with the main current of Hellenic philosophy.

The Social Thought of the Ancient Civilizations. By Joyce O. Hertzler; pp. xiv, 409. New York: Mc-Graw-Hill, 1936. \$4.00

This is an interesting attempt to treat the literature of the Near Eastern peoples from the current sociological point of view. The 'social thought' of each people is examined after a brief historical sketch of the background. The author disclaims first-hand knowledge of the literature and accepts without criticism the translations of specialists. The book, consequently, is not an original contribution. Even the sociological approach is nothing more than what we have long called 'history'. On the other hand, the selections chosen to illustrate the author's contributions are both full and appropriate. As a convenient source book for additional readings in the ancient history of the Near East it will have, therefore, a certain value.

CLASSICAL NEWS

Edited by George Depue Hadzsits, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

All items for this column should be sent directly to Professor Hadzsits

Appointments and Promotions: University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada, William Hardy Alexander, head of the Department of Classics, to be dean of the faculty of Arts and Sciences and director of the University Summer School in addition to his duties as senior professor in the Department of Classics; Columbia University, William B. Dinsmoor to be executive officer of the Department of Fine Arts and Archaeology; Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, Hetty Goldman, while continuing in charge of her excavation at Tarsus, to be a member of the staff of

the School of Humanistic Studies; Princeton University, Philip De Lacey as instructor of Classics.

The following are some of the appointments of visiting foreign professors for the current academic year: Eva Fiesel, formerly of the University of Munich, to Bryn Mawr College; Margaret Bieber, formerly professor extraordinary of Classical Archaeology, University of Giessen, to Columbia University; Karl L. H. Lehmann-Hartleben, formerly of the University of Münster, to New York University; Kurt von Fritz, lecturer in the classics, Corpus Christi College, Oxford, to Reed College.

Fellowships Available:

American Academy in Rome: Fellowships in Classical Studies, probably three in number, each to run for a term of two years, beginning October 1, 1937. Each fellow will receive free tuition, residence at the Academy, and an allowance of \$1400 a year. Opportunity is offered for extensive travel, including a trip to Greece. Every fellow is required to engage in a piece of special research and publish the results of investigation as the Academy may direct. The competitions are open to unmarried citizens of the United States who are not over thirty years of age. Persons who desire to compete for one of these fellowships must fill out a formal application and file it with the Executive Secretary not later than February 1, 1937. They must at the same time submit evidence of ability to read Latin, Greek, French, and German, and of attainment in Latin literature, Greek literature, Greek and Roman history, and archaeology. A knowledge of Italian is strongly recommended. Candidates will be required without fail to present published or unpublished papers so as to indicate their fitness to undertake special work in Rome. The Academy reserves the right to withhold an award in case no candidate is considered to have reached the desired standard. For detailed circular and application blank apply to Roscoe Guernsey, Executive Secretary of the American Academy in Rome, 101 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y.

American School at Athens: Three Fellowships, each with a stipend of \$1,300, two in Greek archaeology and one in the language, literature and history of ancient Greece. These Fellowships are open to graduates and, under certain conditions, to other graduate students, men and women, of colleges and universities in the United States. The awards are based on the results of competitive examinations which will be held February 8-10, 1937, at places convenient to the candidates. The examinations assume a degree of preparation which usually requires one or

more years of graduate work. A statement of the requirements and copies of recent examination papers will be sent on request. The primary object of the Fellowships is to encourage research in some field of Greek studies which can best be carried on in Greece. The Fellowships are also intended to give to advanced students of the classics or of Greek archaeology, through organized travel in Greece, a first-hand knowledge of the land and of its more important sites and archaeological remains. Applications, which must be made before January 1, 1937, and all inquiries for further information should be addressed to the Acting Chairman of the Committee on Fellowships, Professor C. A. Robinson, Jr., Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

General

Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, Vol. XLVII; pp. 225. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936.

The contents are as follows: Some Passages of Latin Poets; The Terminology of the Ideas; Movement in the Divided Line of Plato's Republic; Fate, Good, and Evil in Pre-Socratic Philosophy; The Argumenta of the Socalled Lactantius; Greek Theories of Slavery from Homer to Aristotle; A New Raetic Inscription of the Sondrio Group; Summaries of Dissertations for the Degree of Ph.D. 1935-36. Group; Summ Ph.D., 1935-36.

Philological Studies in Honor of Walter Miller; presented by former students upon his completion of fifty years of teaching, edited by R. P. Robinson; 189, ill. Columbia: University of Missouri, 6. (University of Missouri Studies vol. II, no. 3) \$1.25

Ancient Authors

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